

MICRO- AND MACROREGIONAL PROCESSES IN EARLY IRON AGE AKARNANIA AND BEYOND

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Introduction

In recent years the number of EIA finds in Aitolio-Akarnania has immensely increased. We may cite, for example, the survey projects and excavations in Stratos-Stratiké and on the Plaghia Peninsula, as well as the results of the excavations in connection with the construction of the “Ionia odos” (Ionian highway), during which, amongst other finds, houses of the Geometric period in Makyneia and the important necropolis of Stamna were brought to light (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009). Since the research has not yet been completely concluded, this paper aims to present some of these findings. It is to be understood as a work-in-progress, offering an insight into the EIA in this region. To this end, three different paradigms have been selected: the pottery from the Stratos-Stratiké projects, the apsidal building in the district of Spathari, and the necropolis of Stamna.

In general, in the EIA of this region one encounters a social structure, which was not entrenched in a Mycenaean palatial system; instead, the society was organised by tribe (a term highly debated, cf. Morgan 2003, 12-16), as in Epirus, and the Akarnanian population lived, already in the Mycenaean period, in many small settlements based on a subsistence economy.¹ The formation of poleis is a process that occurred increasingly during the Classical period.

Pottery from Stratos and the Stratiké

Traces of settlements from the EIA are attested in Stratos and the Stratiké by pottery and small finds. The ceramic presented here originates from the excavation in the agora in

1. Mastrokostas 1961-1962, 184-185, pl. 212; Berktold 1996, 29-30, 52; Gehrke & Schneider 2006, 61; Eder 2008, 559-560, 570-572; Lambrinoudakis 2013, 129; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2013, 257-270. In general on Akarnania and Stratos: Lang 1994, 239-254; 2009; 2013, 141-142, 158, fig. 5; Berktold, Schmid & Wacker 1996; Schwandner 2000-2001, 8-22; 2006, 531-540; Isager 2001; Stavropoulou-Gatsi & Schwandner 2008, 426-429. The name “Stratiké” for the plain around Stratos is handed down by Polybios (Pol. 5.96.3).

Stratos,² from the Stratiké-Survey-Project³ and from the extra-urban sanctuary on the hill of Spathari (Schwandner 2000-2001, 13-16), which was discovered during the Stratiké-Survey ca. 5 km northwest of Stratos (**fig. 11**).

Shapes

The repertoire of shapes and the decorative schemes from Stratos and the Stratiké will be then introduced;⁴ the respective groups of wares are currently being geochemically investigated and will be published separately.

One-handled cups or kantharoi: rims and bases of small open vessels from Stratos and the Stratiké cannot decisively be attributed to one-handled cups or kantharoi, due to the fact that the handles are generally missing. A large proportion of the flaring and steep rims, the smaller rounded handles, and diverse bases (**figs. 2-4**) might originate from kantharoi, one-handled cups, or also skyphoi or kylikes.

The one-handled cups are known from the neighbouring regions of Aitolia, with the find spots of Gavalou, Kalydon, Stamna, Ithaca and Elis.⁵ In particular, the PG finds from the necropolis in Stamna, a site in the immediate vicinity of Stratos with very similar pottery, present almost 90 one-handled cups (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1184-1192).

Kantharoi are found both in sanctuaries and in grave finds in the neighbouring region of Aitolia (Gavalou, Kalydon, Stamna),⁶ on Ithaca⁷ and in Achaia.⁸ LG-Achaic kantharoi are particularly numerous in Olympia (Gauer 1975, 164-172), which according to Papadopoulos (2001, 396-402) conform to the Achaian type. Gauer differentiates between a squat, bellied early shape (LG until 7th century BC) with flat, wide foot or without foot, and a more streamlined late type (second half of the 7th century-mid 6th century BC) with a form similar to the conical foot (Gauer 1975, 164-165).

Skyphoi: skyphoi here refer to vessels with horizontal handles. Three skyphoi bases have the conical foot typical for the EIA (**fig. 1.2-4; fig. 4.75-76**),⁹ which in the course of the epoch

2. The excavations in the agora of Stratos were carried out by the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities under the direction of Lazaros Kolonas and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner of the Department of Architecture of the German Archaeological Institute in the years 1990-2000: L. Kolonas, *ArchDelt* 45, 1990, *Chr.*, 140; *ArchDelt* 46, 1991, *Chr.*, 162-163; *ArchDelt* 47, 1992, *Chr.*, 146-148; *ArchDelt* 48, 1993, *Chr.*, 140-141; *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, *Chr.*, 242; *ArchDelt* 50, 1995, *Chr.*, 240; E.-L. Schwandner, *AA* 1990, 562-563; *AA* 1991, 614; *AA* 1992, 669-670; *AA* 1993, 677-679; *AA* 1994, 605-607; *AA* 1995, 783-786; *AA* 1996, 555-558; *AA* 1997, 509-510; *AA* 1998, 525-526; *AA* 1999, 569-570; *AA* 2000, 552.

3. The survey took place between 1992-1997: E.-L. Schwandner, *Jahresberichte*, *AA* 1993, 606.

4. The comprehensive publication of the EIA and Archaic pottery from Stratos and the Stratiké is in preparation: Sieverling forthcoming.

5. Vokotopoulou 1969, pl. 49β α; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980, 116, fig. 9; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.nos. S335, S328-S329, pl. 30, cat.nos. S233, S236, S330-S331, S342, S333, pl. 31; cat.no. V695, pl. 37, cat.no. S284, pl. 38; Deoudi 2008a, 73, cat.no. 153, 74, cat.no. 154, 77, cat.no. 160, 79, cat.no. 166, 115, pl. 12, 153-156; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 299, cat.no. 21, pl. 9, 290, cat.no. 20, fig. 219. The shape is present in Elis (Eder 2006, pl. 73M), but not in Achaia (Gadoulou 2008).

6. Vokotopoulou 1969, 74-76, pl. 46α α-γ, β α-β; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980, 115, fig. 8, 120, fig. 11; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2001, 164, fig. 22; 2009, 1158-1163; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 299, cat.no. 23, pl. 9, 297, cat.nos. 1-7, pl. 7.

7. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.nos. S339, S348, pl. 30, cat.no. V420, pl. 35; Deoudi 2008a, 51-57.

8. Gadoulou 2008, 90-147, 98, fig. 46, 102, fig. 53: very small kantharoi seem to replace the small one-handled cups, which are not attested in Achaia.

9. Examples of additional conical foot: Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 186; Eder 2006, 175; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1176.

decreased in height.¹⁰ Their shape and their decoration assign them to the beginning of the EIA. The handles of the skyphoi are almost exclusively rounded and are situated obliquely towards the top (**fig. 1.5-6**).

In contrast to kantharoi, skyphoi are generally relatively rare in the West Greek koine (Coldstream 2008, 225, 230) and are found on Ithaca,¹¹ in Aitolia,¹² Elis (Eder 2006, cat.nos. 150-152, 157, pl. 62) and Achaia.¹³

Kylikes: in Greece, the kylix is a typical vessel of the Helladic period, which was passed down to the EIA in a similar repertoire of shapes in decreasing numbers. The rim of a kylix comes from the sanctuary in Spathari and conforms to the typical conical vessel body of the EIA kylikes (**fig. 1.7**), although it also demonstrates analogies with late Mycenaean types.¹⁴ A straight-sided flaring rim fragment, as well as two additional outward thickened flat rim shapes from Stratos may also come from kylikes, which in part display vertical marginal strap handles (**fig. 1.8-11**). The narrow, high-stemmed foot from the sanctuary on the Spathari hill, of which one displays horizontal stripes, has been dated from the end of the Mycenaean period up until the beginning of the EIA, due to the smooth stem and the steep shape of the wall (**fig. 1.12-15**).¹⁵

In the immediate vicinity of the Stratiké, a kylix stem from Astakos in Akarnania is mentioned (Benton 1938-1939, 13), which equally has a vertical stripe pattern similar to that from the sanctuary in Spathari. In Chalcis, a LH stem foot from a kylix is presented, which can also be compared to the one from Spathari.¹⁶ A LG kylix from a sanctuary in the vicinity of Nikoleika in Achaia seems to be transitional from the conical LH-EIA to the bowl-like Archaic shape, with concave stem foot and wide, globular body (Gadoulou 2012, 227, fig. 2). Additional kylikes are found, for example, on Ithaca, in Olympia, and Sparta.¹⁷

Lekanes: The term *lekanis* refers to a wide, open vessel, which differs from the cups due to its offset or outward thickened, flat rim shape. Lekanes have a flatter body than kraters, and they differ from bowls due to their smaller diameter and the lesser strength of their walls.

Most frequently, the retracted flat rim is present in the lekane (**fig. 5.87-88, 90-91**), upon which horizontal handles can be found (**fig. 5.87**). This shape has a lifespan from the EIA until the Archaic period. A *lekanis* from Stratos, with widely extending, horizontal flat rim, may represent a transitional shape between *lekanis* and plate; it has been dated to the end of the EIA or to the beginning of the Archaic period (**fig. 5.92**). For this reason it might rep-

10. Gadoulou 2008, 114, cat.no. 77, fig. 84, 101, cat.nos. 25-27, fig. 51. A precisely inverse development occurred in Torone: Papadopoulos 2005, 497.

11. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. S235, pl. 29, cat.nos. S353, S350-S351, pl. 32, cat.nos. S285, V27, S340, pl. 39; Deoudi 2008a, 67, cat.nos. 138, 140, 69, cat.no. 114.

12. Vokotopoulou 1969, pl. 49b; Dekoulakou 1973, 16, cat.no. 7-IV, fig. 1; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 299, cat.no. 26, pl. 9.

13. Gadoulou 2008, 96, cat.no. 14, fig. 43, 96, cat.no. 16, fig. 44, 97, cat.nos. 17-18, fig. 45, 98, cat.no. 20, fig. 47, 101, cat.nos. 25-27, fig. 51, 113, cat.no. 74, fig. 83, 113, cat.no. 76, fig. 83, 114, cat.no. 77, fig. 84, 123, cat.no. 100, fig. 95; Gadoulou 2002, pl. 4, cat.no. 116, pl. 5.122.

14. Mountjoy 1986, 148, cat.no. 2, fig. 187; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. S216, pl. 27; Deoudi 2008a, 64, cat.no. 133, pl. 10, cat.no. 132.

15. Coulson 1986, 114, cat.no. 3, fig. 3; Hallager 1997, 38-39; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. A142, pl. 98.

16. Dietz 1998, 267, cat.no. 12, fig. 11; Eder 2003, 104-107; 2006, 147-148.

17. Coulson 1986, 114, cat.no. 3, fig. 3; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. S283, pls. 10, 27-28, 37; Eder 2003, 107; 2006, pls. 52-53, 72. The typical stem foot with marked horizontal ribs found on Ithaca, in Olympia and Sparta in the EIA, is not present in the inventories of the Stratiké.

resent a predecessor of plates amongst the EIA shapes, which appear in the Stratiké at the Late Archaic period.

Similarly as in Stratos and the Stratiké, the spectrum of sizes is also present in Chalcis, Kalydon, Ithaka and Achaia in the EIA until the Archaic period even if the rim shapes are different.¹⁸ In the EIA, lekanes in Akarnania and Aitolia were probably not grave goods, since up until now they have not been attested in the necropoleis.¹⁹

Kraters: the kraters from Stratos provide evidence almost universally of an offset, horizontal, flat rim, and mostly date to the EIA, although certain types have a lifespan into the Archaic period (**fig. 6**). Most of the very large forms have an offset, horizontal, flat rim and are more elaborately painted. A unique, very large, conical base with a radius of 84 mm probably belongs to an EIA krater (**fig. 6.107**).

The differentiation between kraters and skyphoi could not be clearly made in certain cases, since some kraters have similar rim shapes as cups, occasionally with tremulous line and serrated pattern in the interior (**fig. 5.95-97**). This problem also appears in other contexts, where this transitional shape is known as a skyphoid krater (Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 195; Runnels, Pullen & Langdon 1995, 387, cat.no. 1016, fig. 52).

Kraters with the offset, horizontal, flat rim typical for Stratos and the Stratiké are an extremely rare shape in the EIA ceramic evidence for the immediate vicinity (Kalydon, Chalcis, Stamna and Kalogerikó);²⁰ on the other hand, they are present on Ithaka (Aetos and Polis-Cave).²¹

Bowls: in contrast to the lekanes, the bowls are thick-walled, mostly unpainted and with plain surface. The shape of their rims is related to the thickness of their walls (**fig. 7.110-113**). In addition to the usual horizontal handles, there exist bowls with a prominent knob on the handle or with lugs (**fig. 7.108, 114**) (Coleman 1986, 31, cat.no. B57, fig. 5).

Compared to other find spots, there are differences in the rim shapes and the attachment point of the horizontal handles, which in other places are mostly attached to the belly. Chronologically, at all sites, the bowls persist a long time span.²²

Amphorai: rim and base shapes from Stratos and the Stratiké are well-known at other Aitolian find spots, and enable two main size categories to be recognised (**fig. 8.115-116, 119-122**). They are decorated with vertical stripes or are painted with black monochrome slip (**fig. 8. 117-118**) (Vokotopoulou 1969, 87-88, pl. 51; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 204, 518, 553, 581, 616, 1118-1121).

Jugs: small flaring and thickened rims and ring bases originate from jugs (**fig. 9**), which have a duration period from the EIA up to the Archaic period. Fragments of shoulders and necks can be reconstructed as jugs due to their decoration, size and shape. Shoulders and

18. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. S229, pl. 25; Gadolou 2008, 121, cat.no. 93, fig. 93; Dietz 2008, 260 cat.nos. 18, 30, fig. 9, 290, cat.no. 20, fig. 7, 309, cat.no. 22, fig. 34; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 313-315, 339, cat.nos. 126, 248, pl. 12.

19. Vokotopoulou 1969; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 279-299.

20. Mastrokostas 1961-1962, pl. 228e; Gadolou 2002, 168, cat.nos. 39, 46, pl. 1, cat.no. 114, pl. 4; Dietz 2008, 293, cat.nos. 4, 6, fig. 27; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 84, 106, 1166, 1169-1171; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 313-315, 339, cat.no. 266, pl. 12 and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 321.

21. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, 111, 113, cat.no. V718, pl. 33, pls. 42-43; Deoudi 2008a, 37 cat.nos. 41, 43 cat.no. 61 and Deoudi 2008a, 57-58, 104-106.

22. Amyx & Lawrence 1975, cat.nos. An266, An272-273, An286, An307, pl. 110; Lauter 1985, 324-332, fig. 8; Coleman 1986, 31, cat.no. B59-64, fig. 5; Dietz 1998, 276, cat.no. 7, fig. 13, 290, cat.no. 26, fig. 26; Forsén 2009, 65, cat.no. 11, fig. 9.

the neck zones are painted with the usual decoration of the EIA, such as concentric circles, zigzag patterns, stripes and bands (**fig. 9.127, 129-134, 138-139**).

Similar small and larger jugs, with flaring rim, were found in the PG necropolis of Kalydon (Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 289, fig. 218 and 298, cat.no. 18, pl. 8). Large jugs, which are similar to middle-sized amphorae in their dimensions, are attested above all in the EIA in Stamna, yet they also appear sporadically on Ithaka and in Achaia.²³ In the publications of pottery from the region, the small jugs without trefoil spout and with better sweeping than flowing contour are known as *prochoiskoi*, while those with a clear transition from neck to body are referred to as *lekythoi*.²⁴

An assignation of the jugs to the widely distributed oenochoe in Aitolia with characteristic trefoil rim²⁵ and the three-handled hydriai (Vokotopoulou 1969, 91, pl. 49γ; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1205-1208) is not possible in Stratos and the Stratiké.

The example from the sanctuary in Spathari with rim, handle and shoulder might belong to a carinated oenochoe, common in Achaia, with a wide base (**fig. 9.140**) and could be dated to the LG period (Gadoulou 2008, 127, cat.no. 106, fig. 99).

Cooking pots: in Stratos and in the Stratiké, handmade cooking pots are found with typical, flaring rim and steeply formed, flat rim on which vertical band handles were probably applied (**fig. 10**). The shapes of the rims could be assigned to early cooking pots with tripods (Carlington-Smith 2000, 220, fig. 1c) or to cooking pots with flat base (Catling, Lemos & Popham 1990, cat.nos. 826, 832, pl. 77, cat.no. 828, pl. 78), although they also share similarities with handmade belly-handled amphorae (Papadopoulos 2005, 890, fig. 189) and Archaic chytrai (Sparkes & Talcott 1970, cat.no. 1922, fig. 18; Klebinder-Gauß 2012, 358, cat.no. 485, pl. 47).

From the context of the sanctuary comes a type with outward thickened rim, unusual for handmade wares (**fig. 10.146**). This might either be a type of jug or, on the basis of the production technique and the ware, also a cooking pot (Coleman 1986, 31, cat.no. B55, fig. 5).

Based on the current state of publication, few cooking vessels are known from the area. Only one ovoid chytra, with round base and two vertical handles, is known from Stamna; in its size and the shape of its rim, it corresponds to the larger, flaring rims from Stratos. From Stamna, a chytra with tripod, without traces of soot, was probably produced as a cooking pot, considering the characteristics of its shape and technique of its production (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 56 T5/2 as well as 89, 106 T27/5, 300-301 T104 and 1121). In Aitolia, Achaia and Epirus small, handmade jugs and shapes similar to kantharoi, with round base, are found; at least in Achaia, these have traces of soot and were probably cooking pots.²⁶

Decoration

In addition to the shapes of the vessels, similarities and differences to the find spots of the region can be identified based on the various types of decoration, in order to work out micro-regional idiosyncrasies.

23. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. V427, pl. 46; Gadoulou 2008, 91, cat.no. 2, fig. 35, 99, cat.no. 23, fig. 49, 100, cat.no. 24, fig. 50; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 553, 718, 953, 856, 1137-1138.

24. Vokotopoulou 1969, 80-81, pl. 47γ α-δ, δ β; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.nos. V28, a-d, V619, pl. 46; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1129-1136, 1200-1201.

25. Vokotopoulou 1969, 81-83 pl. 48, 49α α-γ; Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980, 126, fig. 15; Kotsonas 2008, 160; Forsén 2009, 63, cat.no. 5, fig. 8; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 287-288, 298, cat.nos. 9-17, pl. 8.

26. Dekoulakou 1973, 15-16, cat.nos. 1-2, fig. 1, pl. II; Gadoulou 2008, 93, cat.no. 7, fig. 38, 113, cat.no. 75, fig. 83 and 117, cat.no. 86; Tzortzatou & Fatsiou 2009, 40-41, fig. 2a.

Concentric circles were painted in Stratos with the multiple brush, as shown by the rigorous application of lines and the pricked holes in the centre (**fig. 3.48; fig. 4.84-86; fig. 9.128, 133-134, 138**) (Papadopoulos, Vedder & Schreiber 1998, 514-515, figs. 3-5). The differing distances between the concentrically running lines reveal that they were applied using a variety of work tools (Papadopoulos, Vedder & Schreiber 1998, 523-524, 529).

There are three varieties of patterns for the concentric circles: (a) continuous concentric circle patterns, in which the exterior circle touches directly on the exterior circle of the neighbouring concentric circle (**fig. 9.138**), (b) free-standing ones (**fig. 9.129**) or (c) concentric circles separated from one another by a tremulous line (**fig. 9.134**) (Vlavianou-Tsalike 1998, 131, cat.no. 721, pl. 34). They are painted in brownish-black as well as in reddish tones. The concentric circles all date to the beginning of the EIA and were applied to small, open vessels and amphoras or jugs.

Whereas concentric circles are very often found in many regions in Greece, they occur in Aitolia and Akarnania only in Stratos on a number of differing vessel shapes; in the context of graves of the 10th-9th centuries, however, they appear almost exclusively on pilgrim flasks, which might emulate Cypriot shapes.²⁷ On Ithaca this decorative scheme is mostly painted free-hand, although sometimes with the multiple brush, on jugs, kraters, skyphoi and one-handled cups.²⁸ In Achaia (Gadoulou 2008, 107-108) concentric circles appear on a PG krater, and also on open and closed vessels in grave contexts.

Spirals were painted on cups in Stratos and the Stratiké, and are mostly found on the body, although occasionally directly under the rim (**fig. 2.32; fig. 4.84**). The spirals could also end in the middle in the form of a semi-colon as ornamental focus (**84**). Spirals were applied with brown-black or reddish-brown paint on fine ware vessels. As it was common during the Mycenaean period the spirals were not drawn with the multiple brush, but freehand due to their irregular form converging in the middle.

The concentric circle is a decorative form typical for the EIA, whereas the spiral pattern dates to the Mycenaean period, although it is occasionally found at the beginning of the EIA.²⁹ In the immediate vicinity of the Stratiké, spiral patterning appears on small open and closed vessels.³⁰

Diminishing triangles refers to triangles, which are drawn inside each other, becoming continuously smaller; as with the concentric circles, they thereby share a central point (**fig. 9.131**) (Coldstream 2008, 397, cat.no. 601, pl. 22g). This decorative scheme, applied with dark paint, consists of at least four triangles drawn inside each other; they proceed continuously on the shoulder of a jug. On the neck, vertical parallel striped patterning is additionally applied.

In the surrounding area direct parallels are lacking, and one encounters cross-hatched or fringed triangles, which for their part are absent in Stratos and the Stratiké.³¹ In Lefkandi, di-

27. Vokotopoulou 1969, 92-93; Christakopoulou 2001, 155-168; the motif of concentric circles appears in the necropolis of Stamna, with over 750 vessels, only on one oenochoe and, in combination with other decorative motifs, on three pilgrim flasks (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1149-1152, 1228); Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 292, 299, cat.no. 28, pl. 9.

28. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. V614, pl. 37, cat.no. V21, pl. 38, cat.no. V707, pl. 40, cat.nos. V711, V709, pl. 42 (a), pl. 43 (f), (g), cat.no. V617, pl. 44, cat.no. V708, pl. 45; Deoudi 2008a, 111, cat.no. 106, pl. 8 and Deoudi 2008a, 279.

29. Coulson 1986, 113, cat.no. 1, fig. 2; Runnels, Pullen & Langdon 1995, 380, cat.no. 842, fig. 45. and 383, cat.nos. 935, 937, fig. 48; Morgan 1999, 116, pl. 14; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1149.

30. Mountjoy 1999, 800, cat.no. 6, fig. 319, 803, cat.nos. 22-23, fig. 320; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 276 fig. 188.

31. Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999, cat.no. V620, pl. 45, cat.no. V427, pl. 46; Gadoulou 2008, 98, cat.no. 19, fig.

minishing triangles are found only sporadically on small jugs or lekythoi, in Olympia they are found on cups, kraters and jugs (Eder 2006, cat.no. 88, pl. 58, cat.no. 296a-c, pl. 68, cat.no. 311, pl. 69), in Messene on a lekythos (Coulson 1986, 119, cat.no. 302, fig. 9) and in Iolkos on lekythoi, generally closed vessels and pyxides (Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 203-204, figs. 25b-26; pl. 61, 3). The motif is already known in the late Mycenaean era³² and it is a common pattern at the beginning of the EIA.

Tremulous line is an irregular, serrated line, which is also referred to as “τεθλασμένη γραμμή” (Vokotopoulou 1969, 92). In most cases it runs horizontally in a separate zone (**fig. 5.93, 95, fig. 9.139**) or in a triangle (**fig. 5.94**). The vertical tremulous line was also applied in combination with concentric circles (**fig. 9.134**) (Vokotopoulou 1969, 92, fig. 4; Sipsie-Eschbach 1991, 203, fig. 25b, 14). The tremulous lines appear predominantly in Stratos on closed fine-ware vessels.

A comparison with other regions reveals that this pattern is typically late Mycenaean - EIA, appearing on all fine-ware vessel shapes, and constituting a broadly disseminated decorative class for the so-called West Greek koine (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1220; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 295-296). On small, open vessels the tremulous line is either found on the middle of the belly zone or directly under the rim, while on closed vessels it mostly appears on the neck.³³ In the Archaic period, a trend towards abandoning this motif is identifiable (Gadoulou 2008, 305).

Horizontal continuous stripes are rather rare in Stratos and in the Stratiké (**fig. 2.19-20**). They decorate the entire body of the vessel, including cup handles (**fig. 3.56**) and high stem-foots of kylikes (**fig. 1.13**). The straight lines were probably drawn with a ruler (Vlavianou-Tsalike 1998, 130). The irregular application of lines, for example on a kantharos (**fig. 2.22**) finds equivalents in the beginning of the EIA ceramic inventory of the surrounding area.³⁴

Repertoire of shapes and decoration in Stratos and in the Stratiké

A comparison with other sites, above all those in Akarnania, Aitolia, Achaia and Elis reveals that many shapes such as one-handled cups, the kantharos, the skyphos, the kylix, the amphora and the jug correspond to the typical classes of vessels and sizes of the Western Greek koine. EIA kylikes are found increasingly in sanctuaries, and this is in keeping with the evidence from the sanctuary in Spathari; some shapes could also be reconstructed as kylikes, however, in Stratos. Kraters rarely appear in the other sites, whereas this shape is relatively common in Stratos and in the Stratiké. The oenochoe with trefoil rim, broadly distributed in the Western Greek koine has hardly been attested in the ceramic inventory of Stratos and the Stratiké.

46; 105-107, cat.no. 44, fig. 68; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1222-1223; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 298, cat.no. 10, pl. 8.

32. Mountjoy 1999, 396, cat.no. 97, fig. 139, 433, cat.no. 112, fig. 153 and 462, cat.no. 73, fig. 167.

33. Mastrokostas 1961-1962, cat.no. 1, 10, pl. 212a; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, 1980, 120, fig. 11, 121, fig. 12, 126, fig. 15; Papadimitriou 1988, 228-230; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1219-1221; Dietz & Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 297, cat.no. 1-5, pl. 7, 298, cat.nos. 9-10, pl. 8, 18 and 299, cat.nos. 27-28, pl. 9. Desborough (1980, 57, pl. 11) describes the irregular zig-zag line as a typical PG pattern which ought to have been taken over from Attica. This pattern, however, is also present in the Mycenaean period.

34. The greatest similarity in shape and pattern is found on a kantharos from Palaionanina which is displayed in the museum of Agrinion and which originates from the end of the 10th/beginning of the 9th century BC other shapes with this pattern are: Stavropoulou-Gatsi 1980, 117, fig. 10; Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1108, 1110, 1173-1174.

Differences exist above all in the lekane, the bowls and the cooking pots, which form other types in the inventories of the neighbouring region, and which can generally rarely be detected.

The decorative analysis of the vessels revealed that the tremulous line and the spiral pattern are attested in the Stratiké and at the other sites. Concentric circles and diminishing triangles are, however, attested in Akarnania and Aitolia almost exclusively on the newly presented pottery from Stratos and the sanctuary at Spathari.

The ceramic and decorative repertoire in Stratos and the Stratiké is therefore very similar to the known ceramic inventories from western Greece, yet nonetheless exhibits micro-regional characteristics not only in the shapes but also in the decoration.

'Cult' buildings on the Spathari hill and in the wider Greek region

In Greece, the construction of buildings with apsidal groundplan and special function is attested primarily as a phenomenon in the later 8th century BC. These structures are often not differentiated from contemporary domestic houses either in their construction technique or in their groundplan. The difference is apparent mainly in their location outside the settlement area. The attribution of their function is determined by the specific spectrum of finds, which indicate feasts and/or cult practices (Boehrer 2001). A building of this type (**fig. 11**) was excavated on the Spathari hill (Schwandner 2000-2001, 14-15; Lang 2001). There, structures were discovered, of which the oldest perhaps dates back to the MH period. In the course of the 8th century BC a horseshoe-shaped building with dimensions at least of 8 × 6.65 m was erected. Along the inner side, stone slabs were laid (diam. 0.6 m). In the centre of the apse lay an additional slab, which probably served as a base for a wooden support for the hipped roof of the apsis. To the east in front of the building was a burned layer with calcined animal bones and pits dug into the ground. In this layer, fibulae and miniature weapons came to light (**fig. 11**). In addition, a large number of miniature vessels were found amongst the pottery, which was broken into very small-sized sherds. The size of the sherds might be an indicator for an intentional fragmentation as we can see at the sword (**fig. 11**). Approximately 150 years later, a temple was erected above this apsidal building to the north; its painted sima, with lion head waterspouts and palmette antefixes, is partially preserved (Schwandner 2000-2001, 14-15). In the area surrounding the apsidal building, pottery, including PG vessels, was found, providing evidence of a usage of the site in the period before the erection of the apsidal structure. Some sherds can be dated to the Late Mycenaean period (Sieverling forthcoming). The cultic function of this site is proven by means of diverse dedications. The final publication will clarify whether the apsidal building was itself used as a cult building or as a location for feasts.

These new insights from the finds from the sanctuary enrich the picture of the cult sites, which have been known for a long time in the Aitolian-Akarnanian sphere. On the island of Ithaca, the Polis-Cave in the north and a sanctuary in Aetos in the south have been excavated. As the excavations of the Polis-Cave have revealed, it was continuously used from the Mycenaean to the Roman period, and after the 9th century BC a cult was practiced here (Malkin 1998, 99; Deoudi 2008b). In the Polis-Cave, amongst other objects, many tripods of the early or mid-9th century up to the late 8th century BC were dedicated (Malkin 1998, 94).³⁵

35. Morgan (2007, 77) refers to new palaeotopographical research of the Polis-Cave.

Based on the finds, a radical break in the dedicatory practices can be recognised in the early Archaic period. The local pottery, which had dominated up until that time, was replaced by pottery in the Corinthian style, and the dedication of tripods was abandoned.

The situation in Aetos is more complicated due to the destroyed levels. It appears, however, that an apsidal building was erected in the 8th century, within which were found an ash altar and many dedications, animal bones, etc. (Morgan 2006, 218).

An additional cult site in the region further from Spathari is at Thermon, located in the mountains (Papapostolou 2012). Here, the apsidal and rectangular buildings of the BA were replaced, probably in the 11th century BC, by a longitudinal rectangular structure. In the late 8th century an open area was enclosed, where fragments of tripods, horse figurines and jewellery were found. In the late 7th century, this open-air cult site was built over with a doric temple dedicated to Apollo, the roof of which was decorated with the earliest figural terracotta roof found so far in Greece (Papapostolou 2012, 91-111).

Cult buildings of the same period have been excavated in recent years also in Achaia. In Nikoleïka, in the vicinity of Helike, an apsidal building was set up in the late 8th century BC, thereby destroying a PG structure, probably an altar (Kolia 2011). The building is at least 12 m long and 7 m wide and perhaps possessed a “semicircular proston” (Kolia 2011, 230). The interior of the building was divided into two parts by a row of columns which stood on stone bases (cf. also the contribution by A. Gadolou in this volume).

Southwest of Nikoleïka, at a mountain pass at an elevation of 1150 m, a contemporary apsidal building was also brought to light near Ano Mazaraki (Rakita); here, Artemis Aontia was worshipped at the latest after the early 5th century BC. According to the excavator, the 27 m long building was surrounded by a peristyle (Petropoulos 2002, 148-157).

The examples presented here enable similarities as well as differences to be recognised, and illustrate the diversity with which religious spaces in western Greece were designed. At Spathari and in Thermon a BA settlement existed with apsidal buildings. At both sites, as in the Polis-Cave and at Nikoleïka, finds dating to the Late Mycenaean era were excavated. The fact that at Nikoleïka a PG phase, probably with an altar, preceded the apsidal structure is reminiscent of the situation at Spathari, where equally PG finds attest to activity before the erection of the apsidal construction. Furthermore, at both sites, in addition to the apsidal building a temple was erected in the 6th century BC. In Thermon, Nikoleïka and possibly also in Aetos an open-air cult area received architectural elaboration, which for Spathari and Ano Mazaraki is not ascertained. Equally, the temple in Spathari gives a much more modest impression in comparison to Ano Mazaraki and Nikoleïka with regard to its archaeological finds and its architectural design.

Communal action by groups is reflected in the establishment of the buildings mentioned, which presupposes the agreement on a location as well as the decision concerning the architectural design. From that time on, these sites served the groups as a common meeting point. In a northwestern Greek context, this collective praxis was not bound to specific institutionalised forms of organisation, for example the polis. As ethnographic studies prove, in segmentary societies which are scattered over large areas, central cult- and assembly buildings were created, and this model could be equally applicable to western Greece, where segmentarily organised groups are encountered (D’Onza 2014, 252).³⁶ The gathering of various groups in one location in order to conduct festive communal activities (commensality) could

36. For the peripheral location of ‘tribal’ sanctuaries: Morgan 2003, 144; Moustakis 2006, 31.

be viewed as a strategy of mutual self-assurance, or as a confirmation of territorial agreements, as perhaps was the case in Ano Mazaraki.

The question regarding who initiated these buildings can hardly be clarified archaeologically (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 393). Beyond the possible élite model, they might represent an association of groups of hunters, warriors, or craftsmen. Also groups of related individuals, however, are also possible, for whom a cult building – perhaps situated on their lands – was important for the construction of their genealogy.

Graves of Stamna

The third example of an EIA paradigm is the discovery of over 600 graves in the course of the expansion of the “Ionia Odos” in the vicinity of the village of Stamna (**fig. 12a**). In the meantime, these graves have been presented by Joulika Christakopoulou-Somakou (2009) in her dissertation.

The immense number of burials that form the cemeteries extend over a length of ca. 3 km linear distance.³⁷ Many burial sites are aggregated in a zone that here is consolidated into 4 clusters (**fig. 12a**). Between these lie additional scattered burial sites. The burial sites within the individual clusters mostly lie at some distance from each other and are occasionally separated from each other due to the topographical situation. The number of burials, of which the majority, with over 80 burials, were excavated in cluster 2, varies between the individual cemeteries.

The graves reveal different types of burial (**fig. 13a**). The dead were mainly buried in pithoi, but also in cist graves, amphorae, pyres and urns. Some of the graves were covered with a tumulus.

The amount of grave goods in all individual burial locations was modest, and ca. 40% of the graves had no grave goods at all (**fig. 13b**). Objects of metal and ceramic were interred, and these were consolidated into 5 categories by the author: ceramic, weapons, personal adornment, jewellery, and miscellaneous objects. Weapons and personal adornment were frequently made of metal, while for jewellery a variety of materials were employed.³⁸

The practice of grave goods was heterogeneous. There are graves with only one object (jewellery or vessel) and those with finds from the five categories of objects, of which pottery vessels are the most frequently attested. Weapons are comparatively seldom. In 64 of the 603 listed burials a total of ca. 80 weapons were deposited.³⁹ As weapons, swords, daggers, shield, knives,⁴⁰ arrowheads and spearheads are cited, although their presence in the graves diverges greatly from each other. Knives appear most frequently, followed by spearheads and swords, whereas daggers, arrowheads and shields are rarely deposited (**figs. 12b, 14**).

The number of weapons varies between one to three weapons per burial.⁴¹ In the major-

37. On the map of Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1432 not all excavated areas are indicated, so that the present overview of the locations (**fig. 12a**) would still need to be augmented.

38. In some graves, tripods and bronze bowls were deposited within which textile remains were partially preserved. These will be published in detail by L. Kolonas (oral paper by L. Kolonas, Mesolonghi 2013). Until now, only a very few post-palatial graves with tripods are known. In addition to Mycenae, a tripod was found in a LHIIIC grave at Kouvaras (near Stratos, Akarnania) (Kiderlen 2010, 93).

39. The lists are published between pages 1306 and 1307 in Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009.

40. She points out that knives could also have functioned as objects of daily use.

41. Exceptions with 4 and 5 weapons were found in graves T378 and T11 (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1236).

ity of cases, only one weapon accompanies the burial (**figs. 12b, 14**). Seven graves reveal a combination of two weapons: knife with dagger, spearhead or sword; dagger with spearhead; and spearhead with shield. Finally, graves with three weapons were found, in which knife, lance and dagger were combined. The swords, spearheads and daggers are predominantly made out of iron. In some graves with weapons, in which men were most likely laid to rest, jewellery was also found (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1088-1093).

The large number of graves offers a great opportunity for socio-archaeological analysis, which in this paper is not possible. The potential can be presented with the example of the burials with weapons. When one maps all burials with weapons (**fig. 12b**), one observes that weapons as grave goods appear in all clusters. It is noteworthy that, in clusters 2 and 3 knives only were laid in the graves with one exception, whereas in clusters 1 and 4 the graves were equipped with a greater variety of weapons. And cluster 4 differs from the other clusters in so far as the most graves here possessed a combination of various weapons. The combination of weapons – spearhead and sword and/or dagger – is evaluated, according to current opinion, as an indicator of socially prominent individuals (Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1088-1093). According to this assumption, one person of this status was buried each in clusters 1 and 3, but several in cluster 4.

The distance between the individual burial fields allows the supposition that the dead did not originate from one settlement (**fig. 12a, b**). It is more likely that the various groups of the area – whether defined by relationship or by other characteristics – in this segmentarily structured society each laid out their own burial sites. This means that the graves in cluster 4 cannot be situated in a status hierarchy with all the other graves of Stamna, but instead a hierarchical order existed maybe within the cluster 4. In contrast, the practice of depositing weapons as grave goods in clusters 1, 2 and 3 might be an indication of the lack of a differentiated hierarchy. It cannot, however, be excluded that the practice of providing grave goods in Stamna followed rules according to which hierarchy was not expressed by means of weapons as grave goods, or that no significant hierarchy existed. The evaluation of all categories of finds will enable a conclusive assessment, and will allow the practice of grave goods in cluster 4, which diverges from the other clusters, to be clarified.

Viewed as a whole, one ought to consider to what extent one can assume a uniform practice of grave goods for all graves. Perhaps heterogeneity of different social groups is reflected here, each of which followed their own rules in their burial customs, as in other things.

The allocation of the cemeteries to surrounding settlements is not possible, since the traces of settlements in the region are limited to a few traces of walls and reveal no clear relationship to the necropoleis. In this respect it cannot currently be determined whether people lived in scattered settlements or in farmsteads.

Conclusions

The examples presented here provide evidence of the phenomenon that, on the one hand, associations with supra-regional tendencies can be identified; on the other hand, micro-regional characteristics exist. This is particularly apparent in the pottery. Interesting in this regard are the differences in the repertoire of shapes, which are particularly significant for the vessels for eating and those for food preparation, whereas in contrast the drinking vessels and the shapes associated with drinking (jugs, kraters) illustrate the usual spectrum. Precisely this differentiation makes it probable that, in Stratos and the Stratiké, diver-

gent consumption practices are to be assumed. The apsidal building on the Spathari hill and the graves of Stamna display a comparable modesty in their equipment. While the apsidal building indeed follows known structures in western Greece in its groundplan, it does not approach their differentiated architecture. Its location outside of the settlement and the fact that, in the Archaic period, a temple was erected there makes it likely that this building reflects a collective decision of groups living round about, who determined that a communal cult site should arise here. The EIA burials near Stamna are exceptional due to the immense number of graves. The division of the burial sites, which can be seen to be grouped in clusters, point to burials of a variety of groups acting independently from each other. Seen together, the results which have been brought to light so far are most commensurate with a segmentarily organised society.

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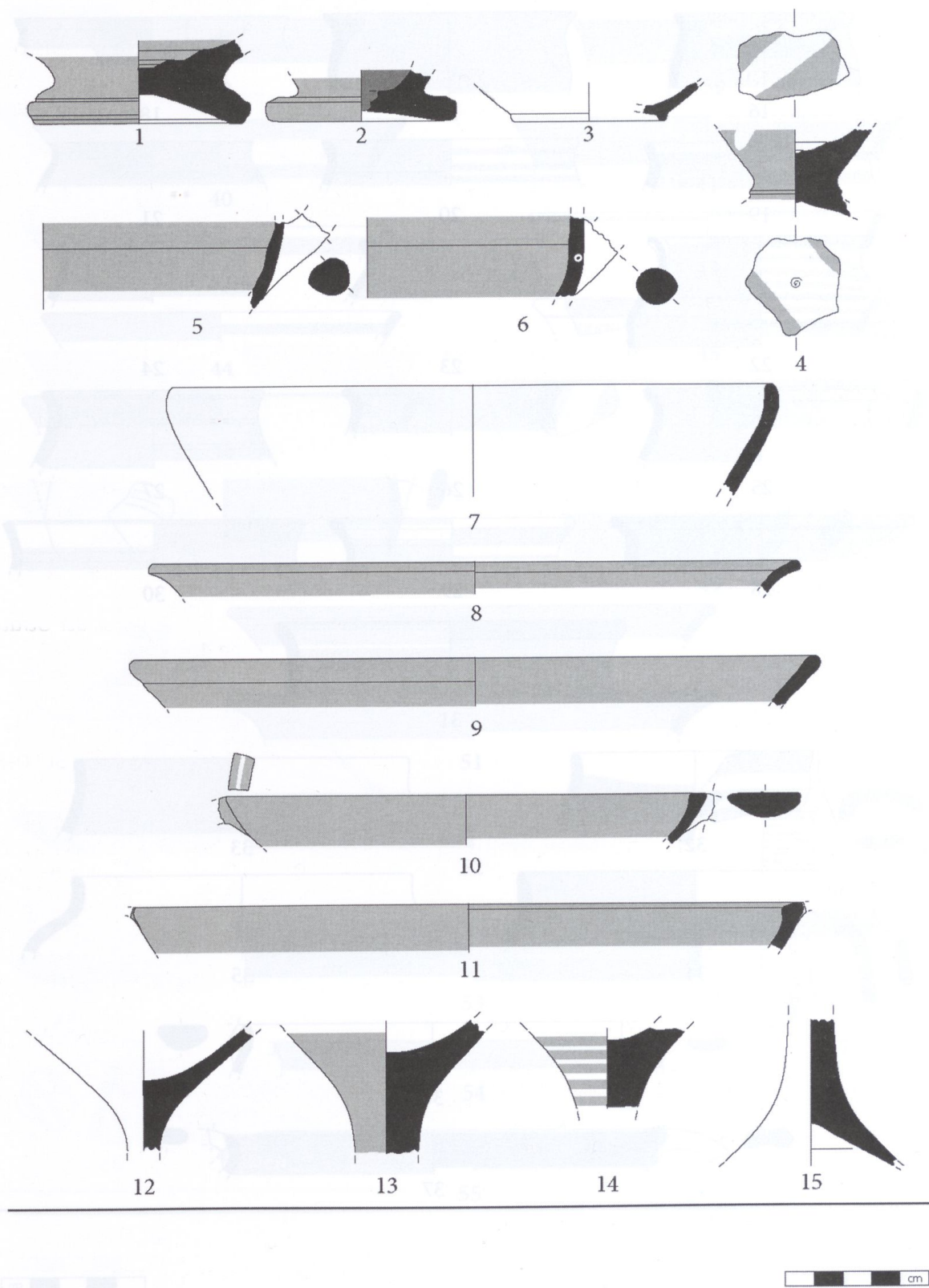


Fig. 1. 1-6 skyphoi, 7-15 kylikes (A. Sieverling).

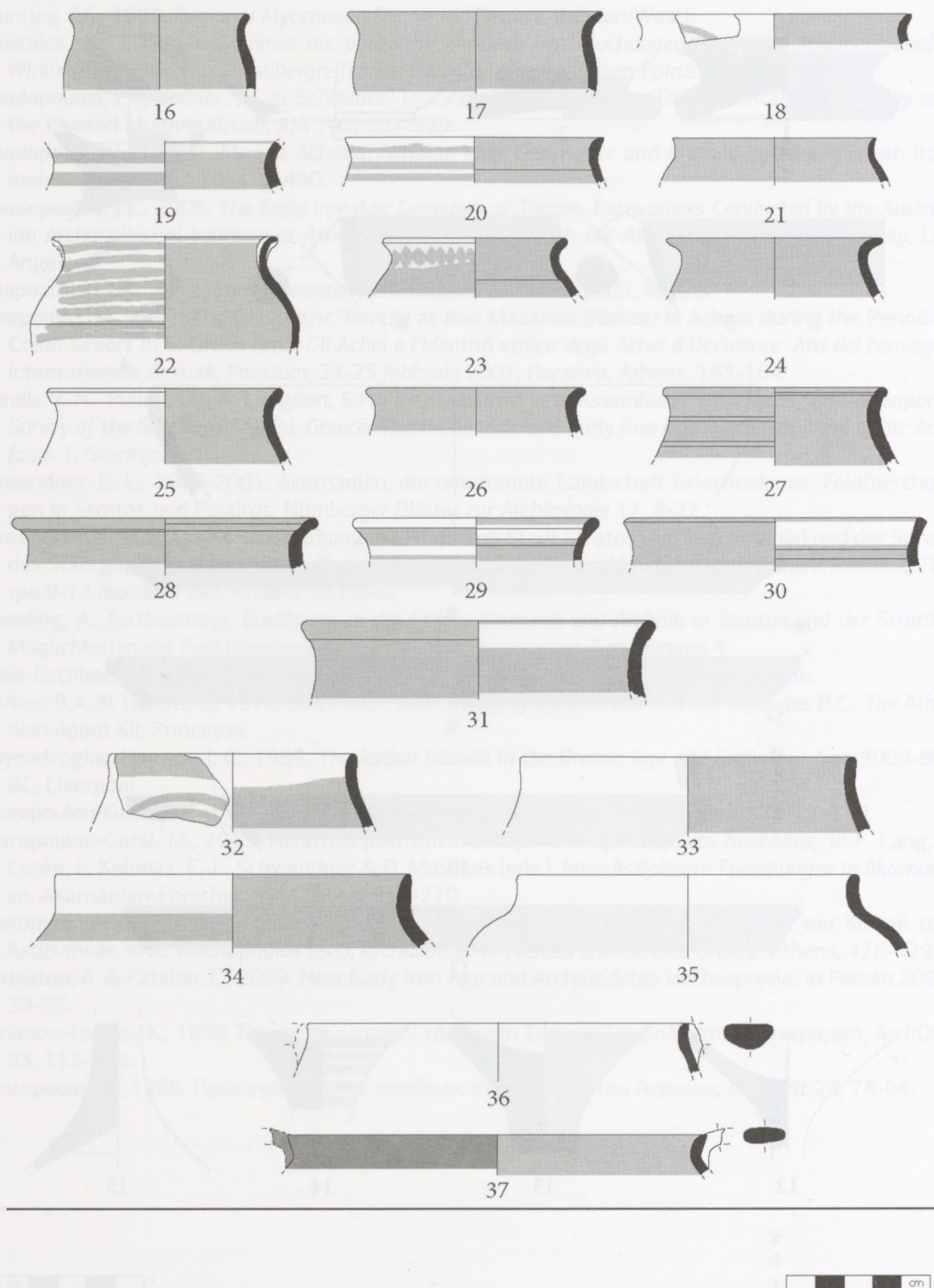


Fig. 2. Different shapes of cups with flaring and steep rims. 22. kantharos (A. Sieverling).

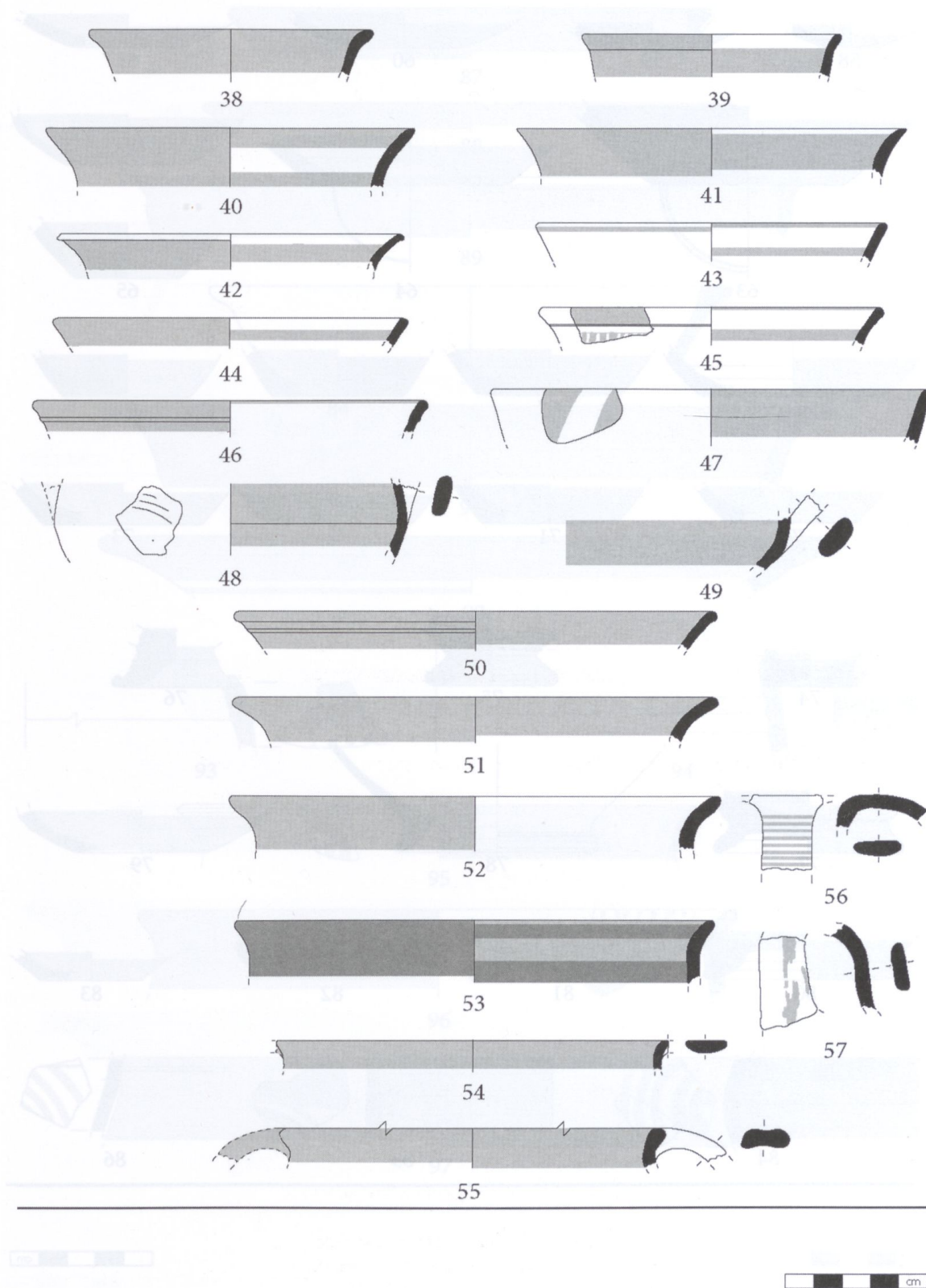


Fig. 3. Different shapes of cups with flaring rims, 56-57 handles with decoration (A. Sieverling).

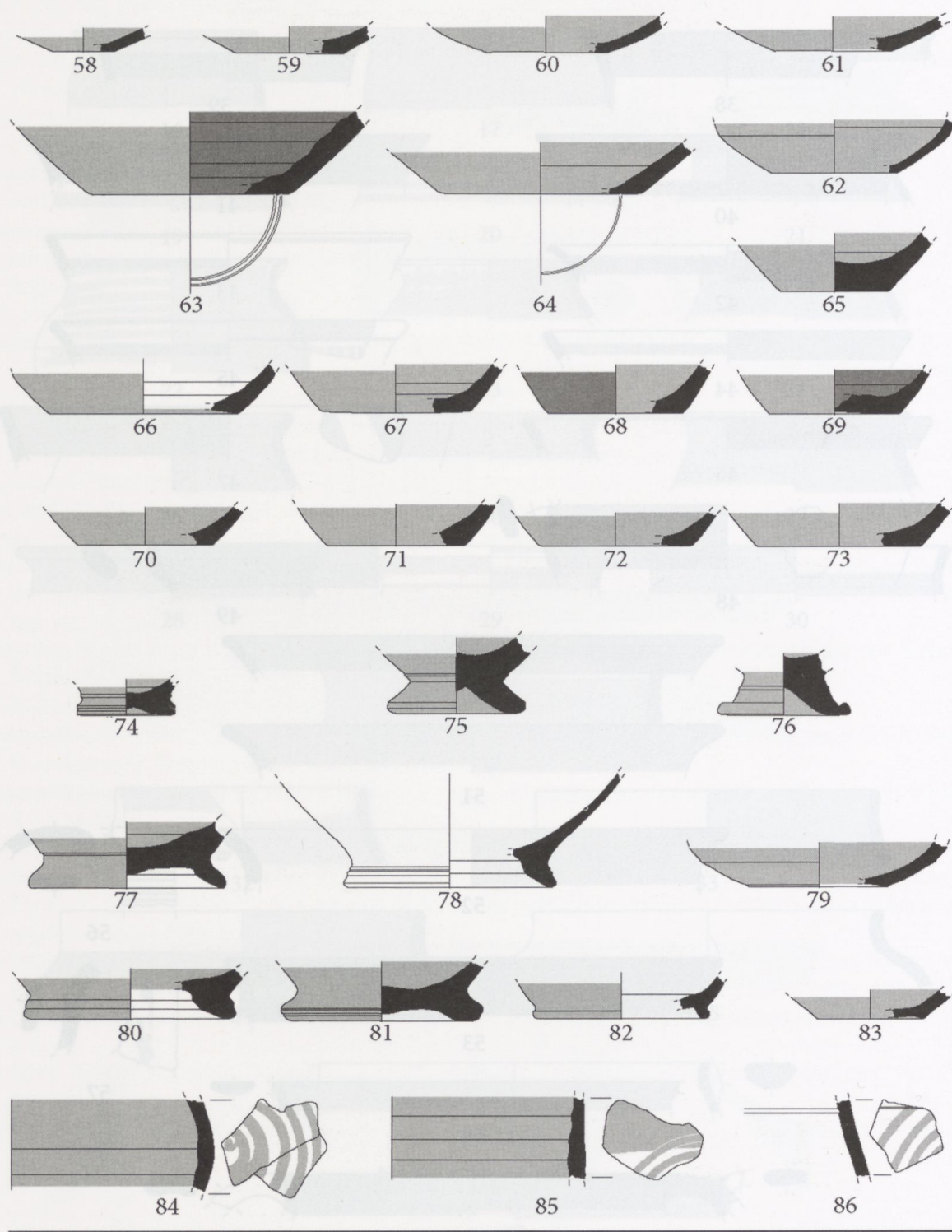


Fig. 4. Different shapes of cups with flat, concave bases and ring bases, 84-86 body sherds with geometric patterns (A. Sieverling).

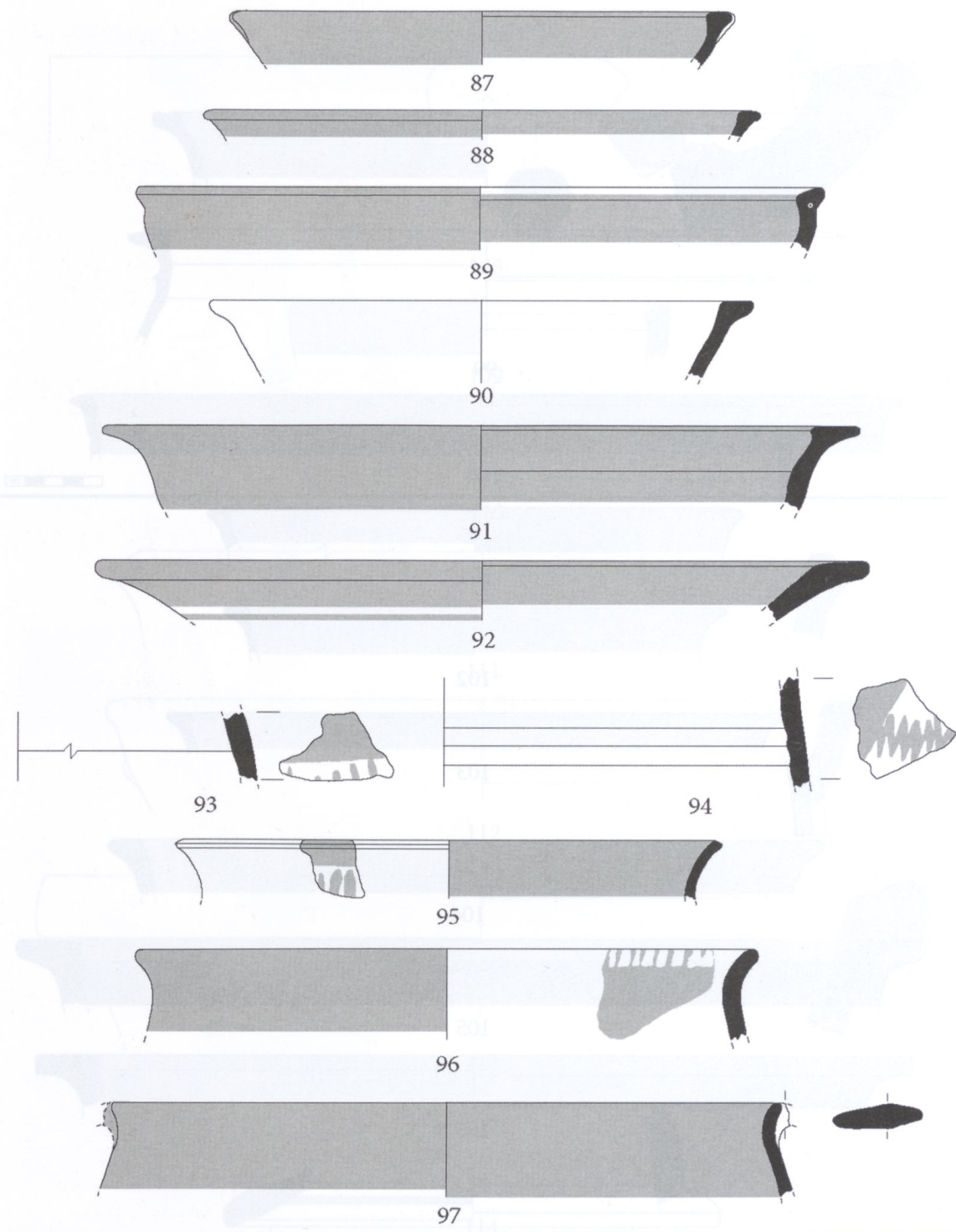


Fig. 5. 87-92 lekanes with outward thickened, flat rim, 93-94 body sherds of open vessels with geometric patterns, 95-97 shyphoi or kraters with flaring rims (A. Sieverling).

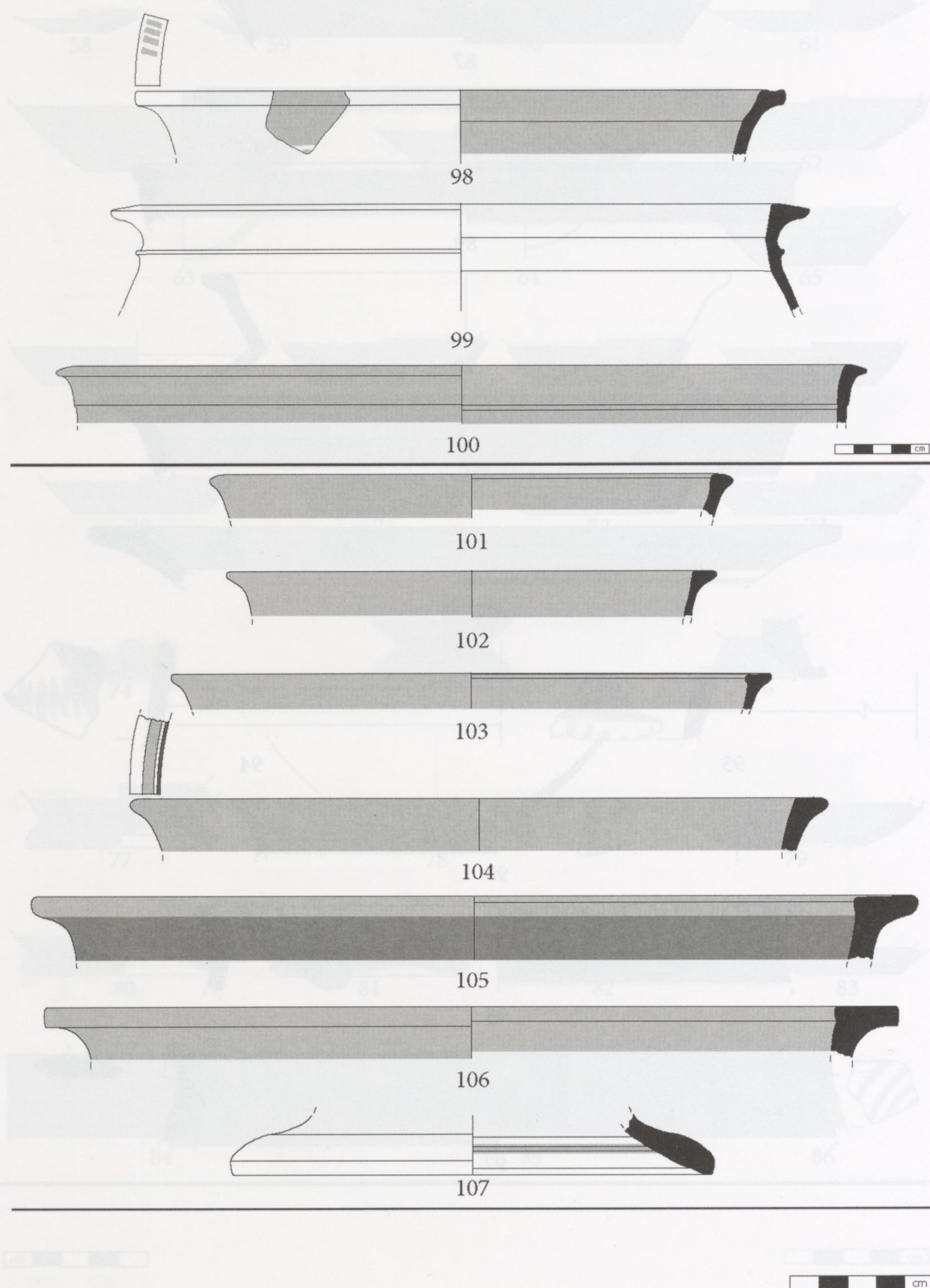


Fig. 6. 98-106 kraters with outward thickened, flat rim, 107 conical base of a crater (A. Sieverling).

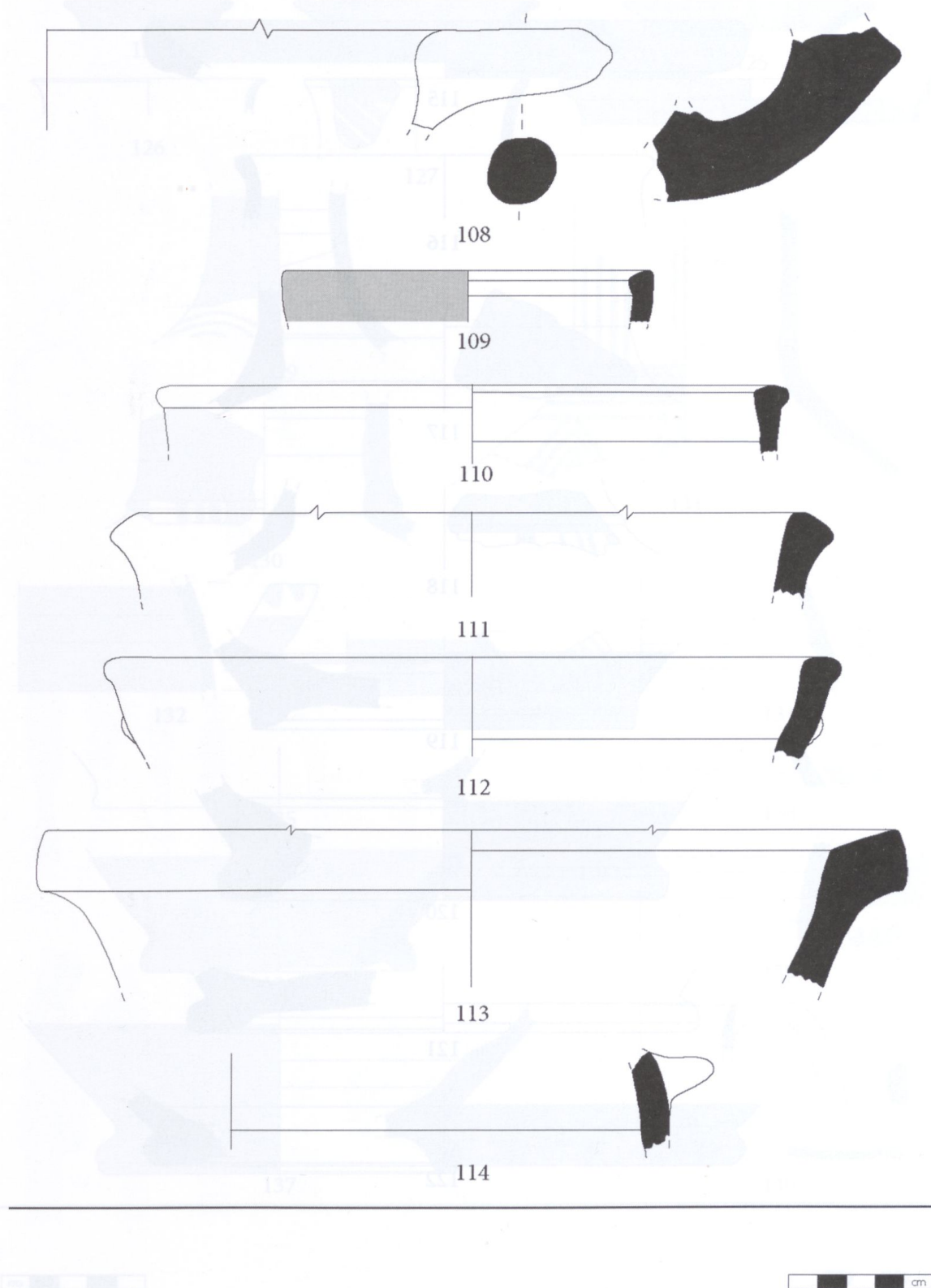


Fig. 7. 109-113 bowls with thickened rims, 108. handle with "prominent knob", 114 bowl with lug (A. Sieverling).

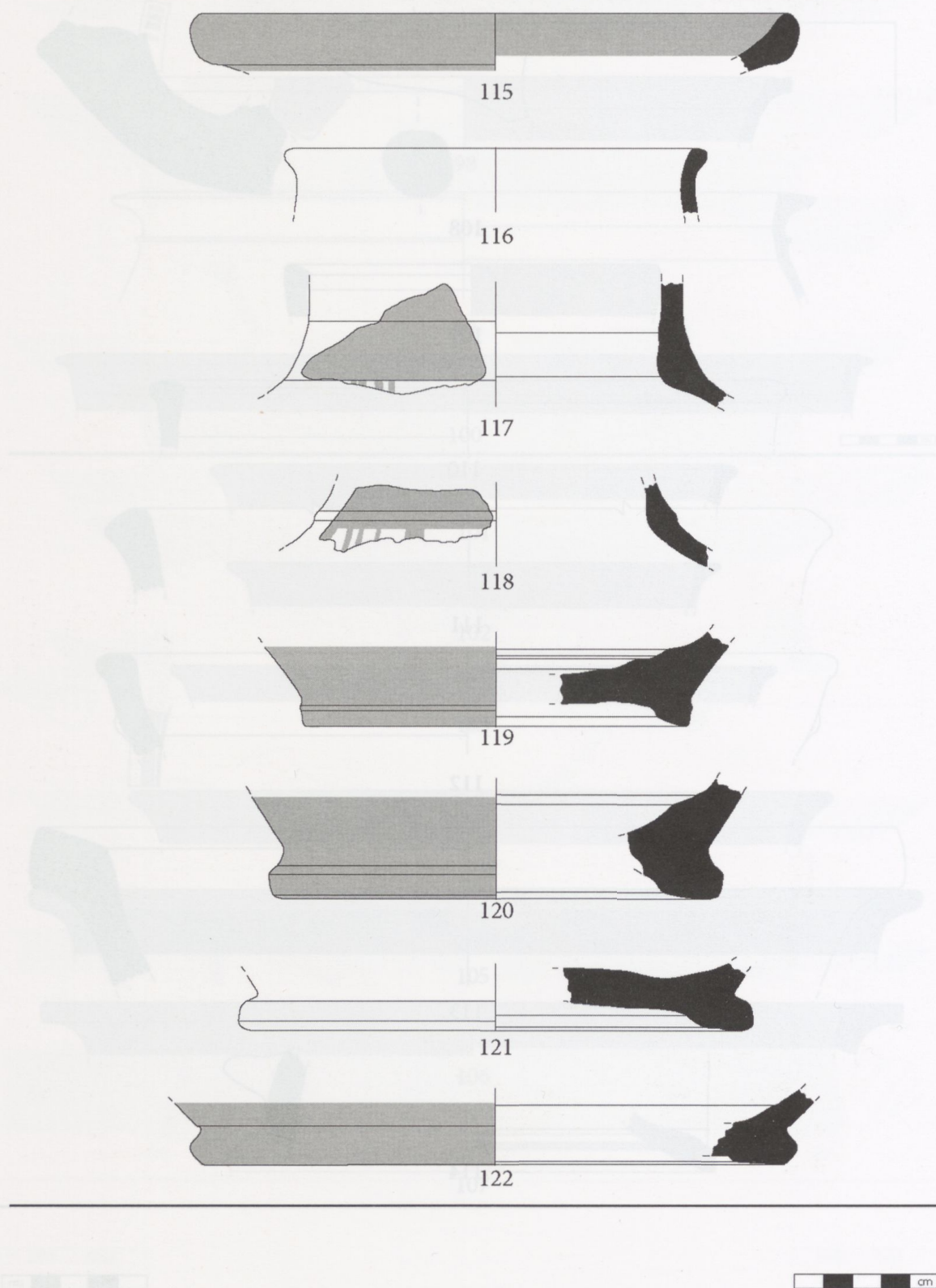


Fig. 8. 115-122 amphorae (A. Sieverling).

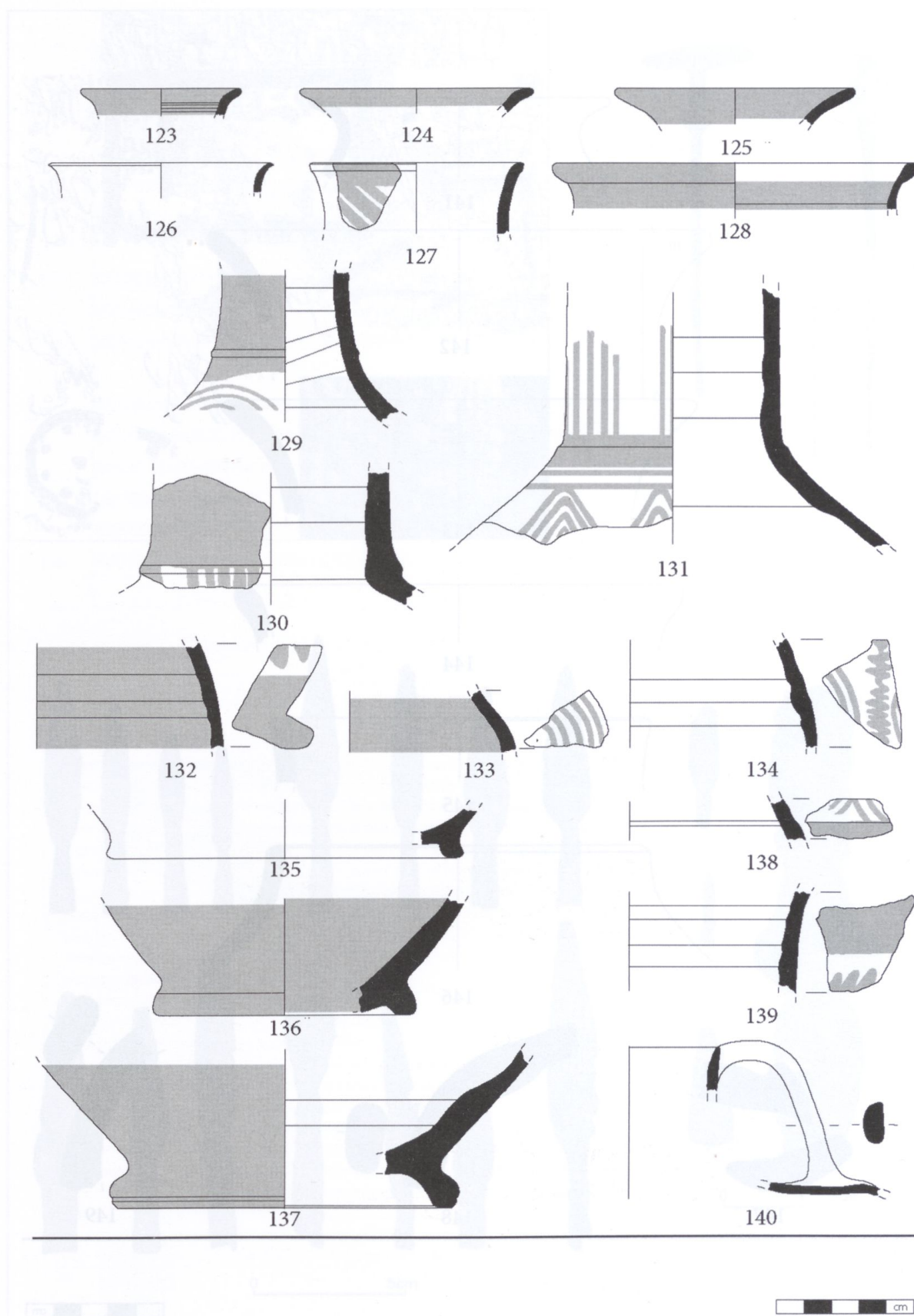


Fig. 9. 123-139 jugs, 140. conical oenochoe (A. Sieverling).

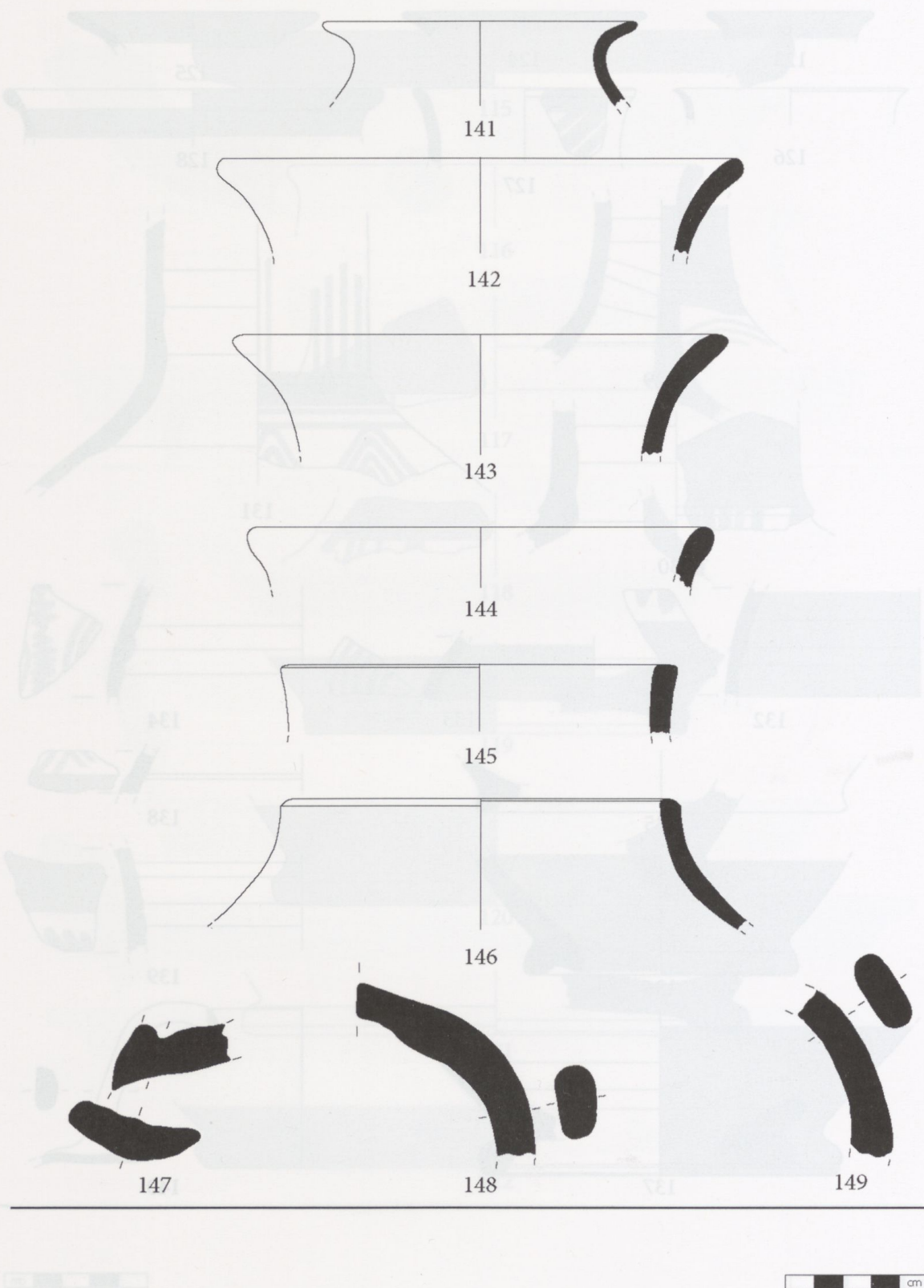


Fig. 10. Coarse cooking pots with burnished surface (A. Sieverling).

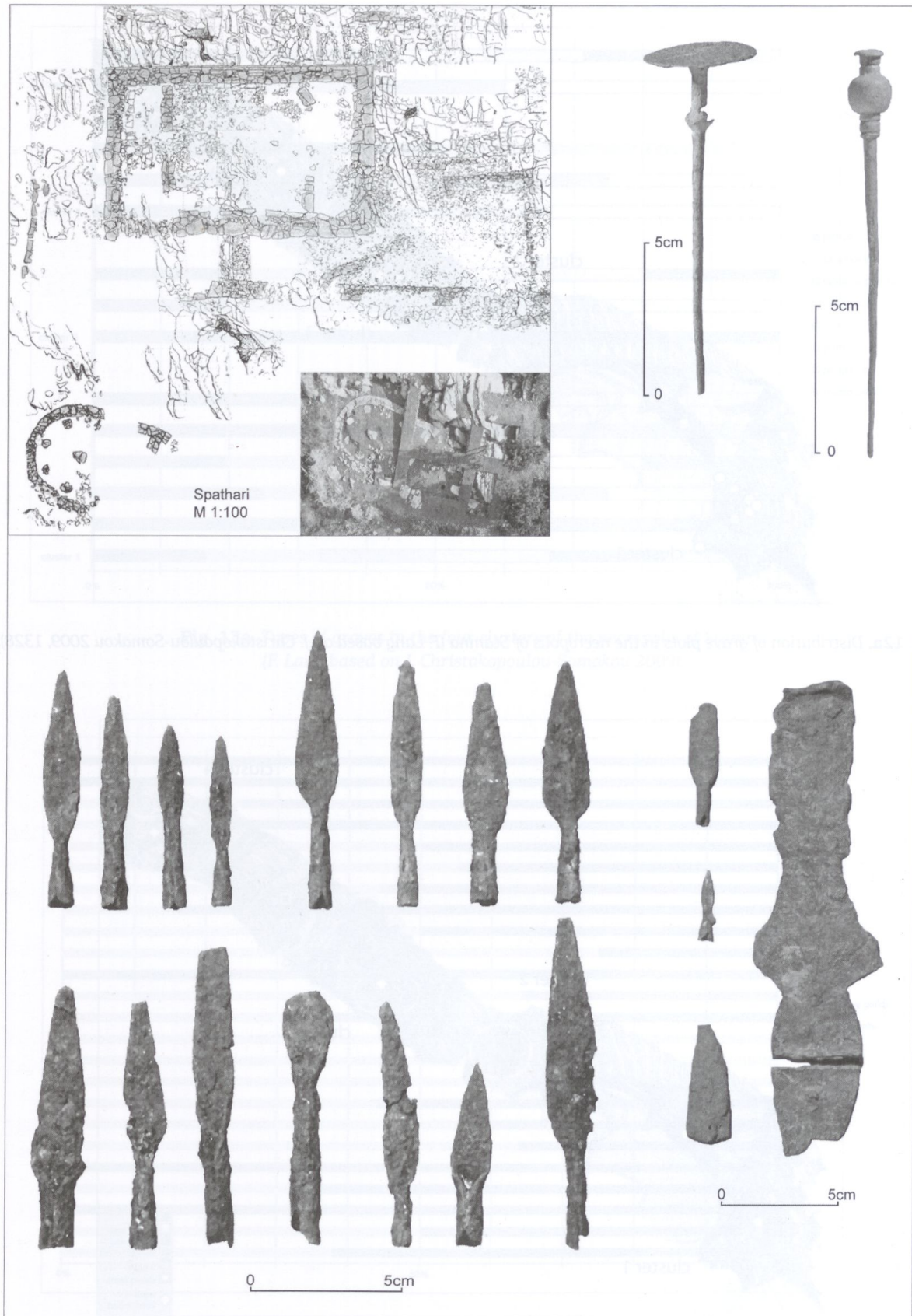


Fig. 11. Architecture and finds from Spathari, Akarnania (F. Lang).

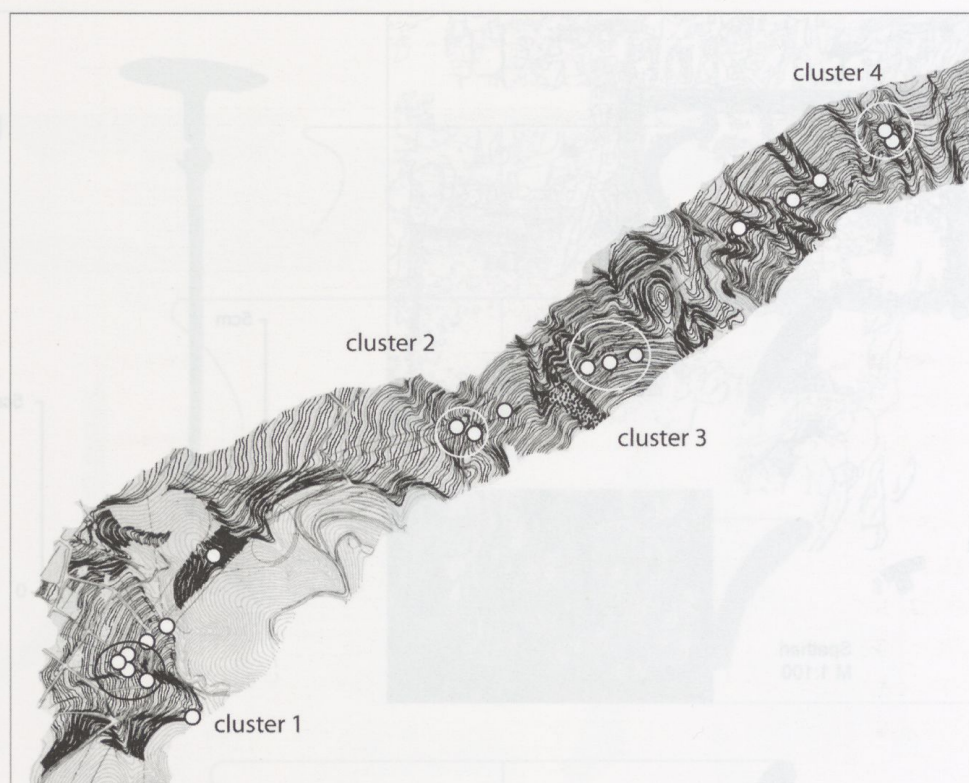


Fig. 12a. Distribution of grave plots in the necropolis of Stamna (F. Lang based on J. Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009, 1328).

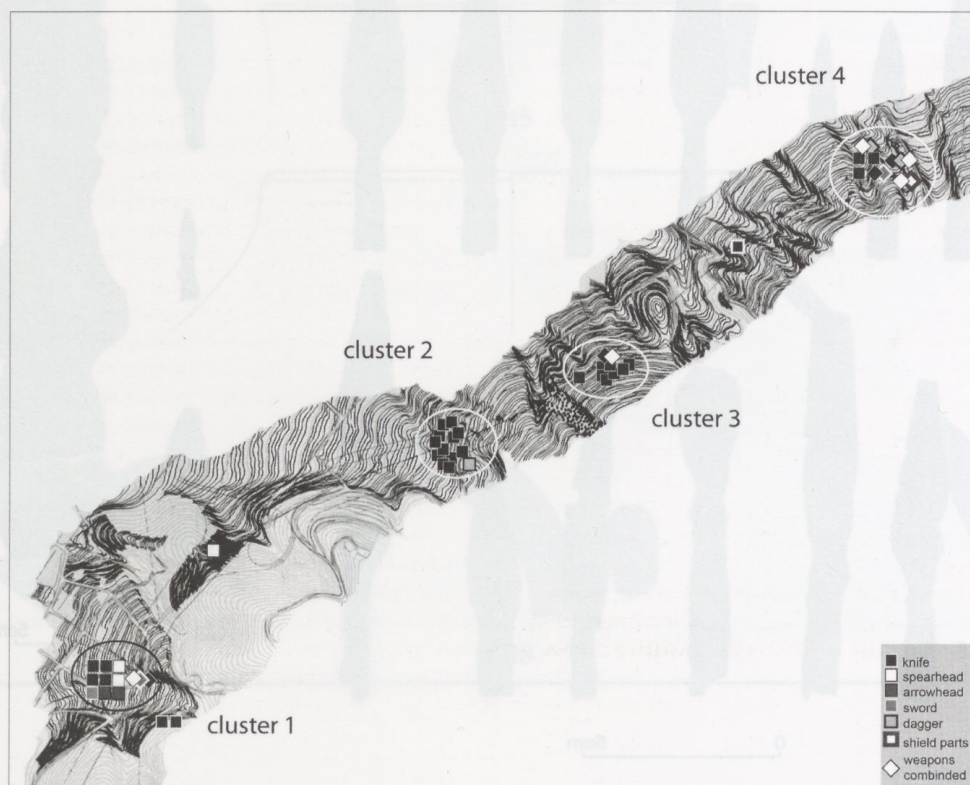


Fig. 12b. Graves containing weapons (F. Lang based on J. Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009).

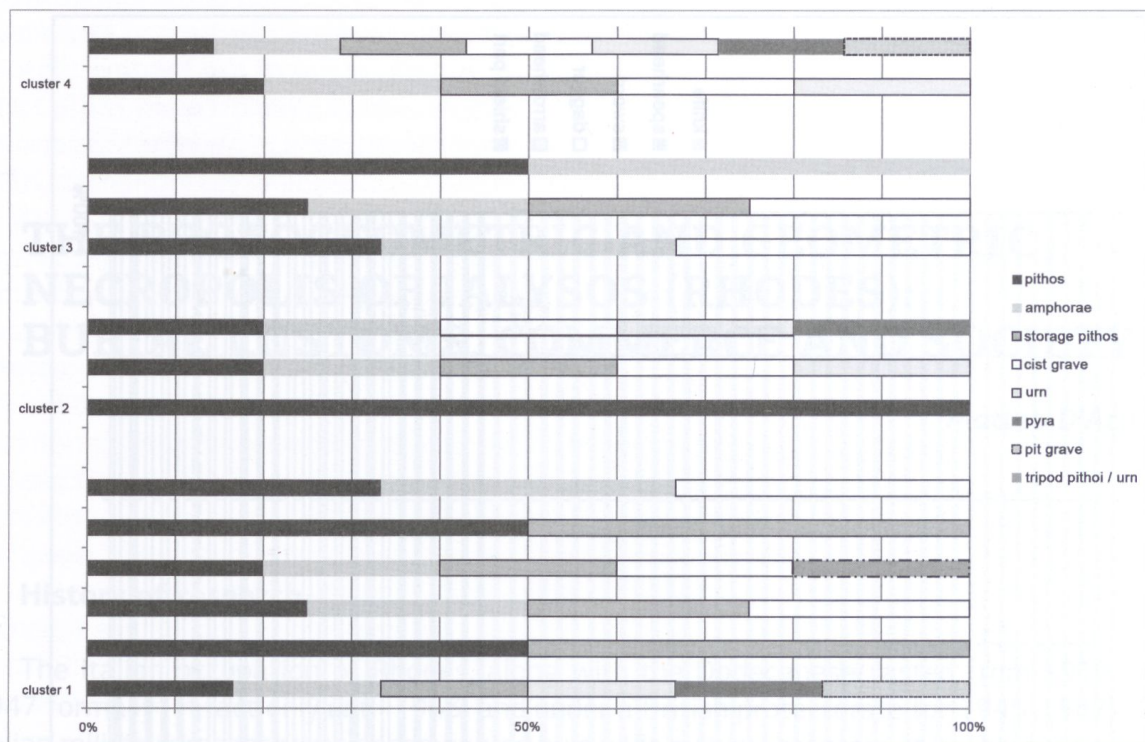


Fig. 13a. Types of graves in the four clusters of the necropolis of Stamna (F. Lang based on J. Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009).

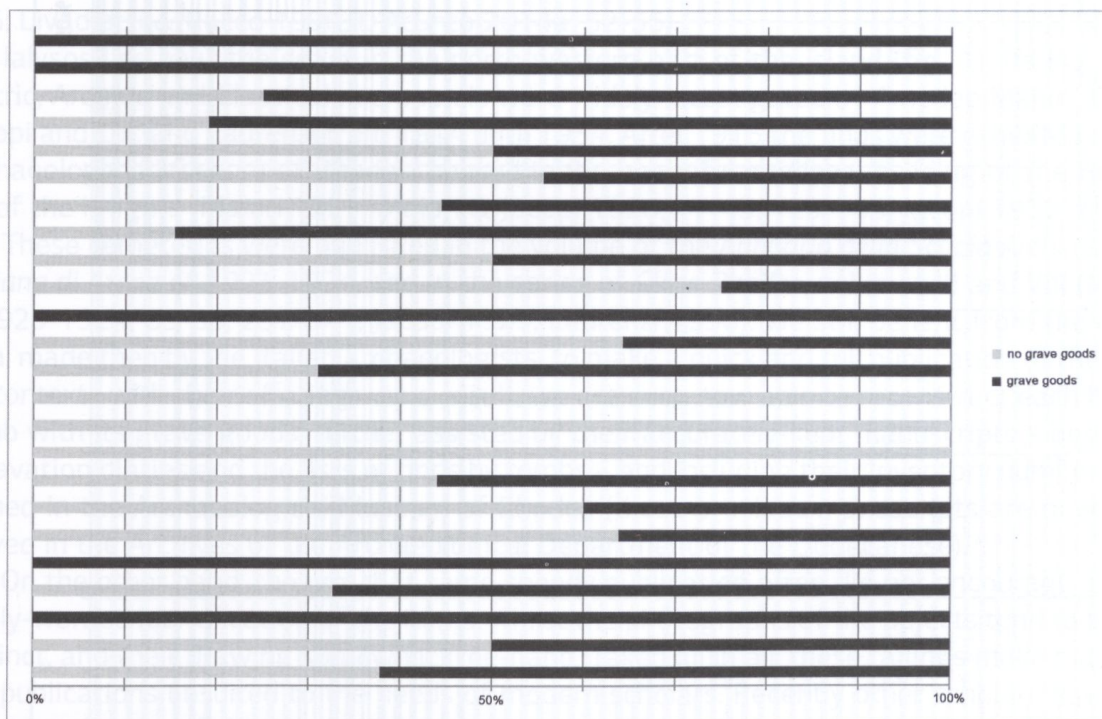


Fig. 13b. Graves with and without grave goods in the whole necropolis of Stamna (F. Lang based on J. Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009).

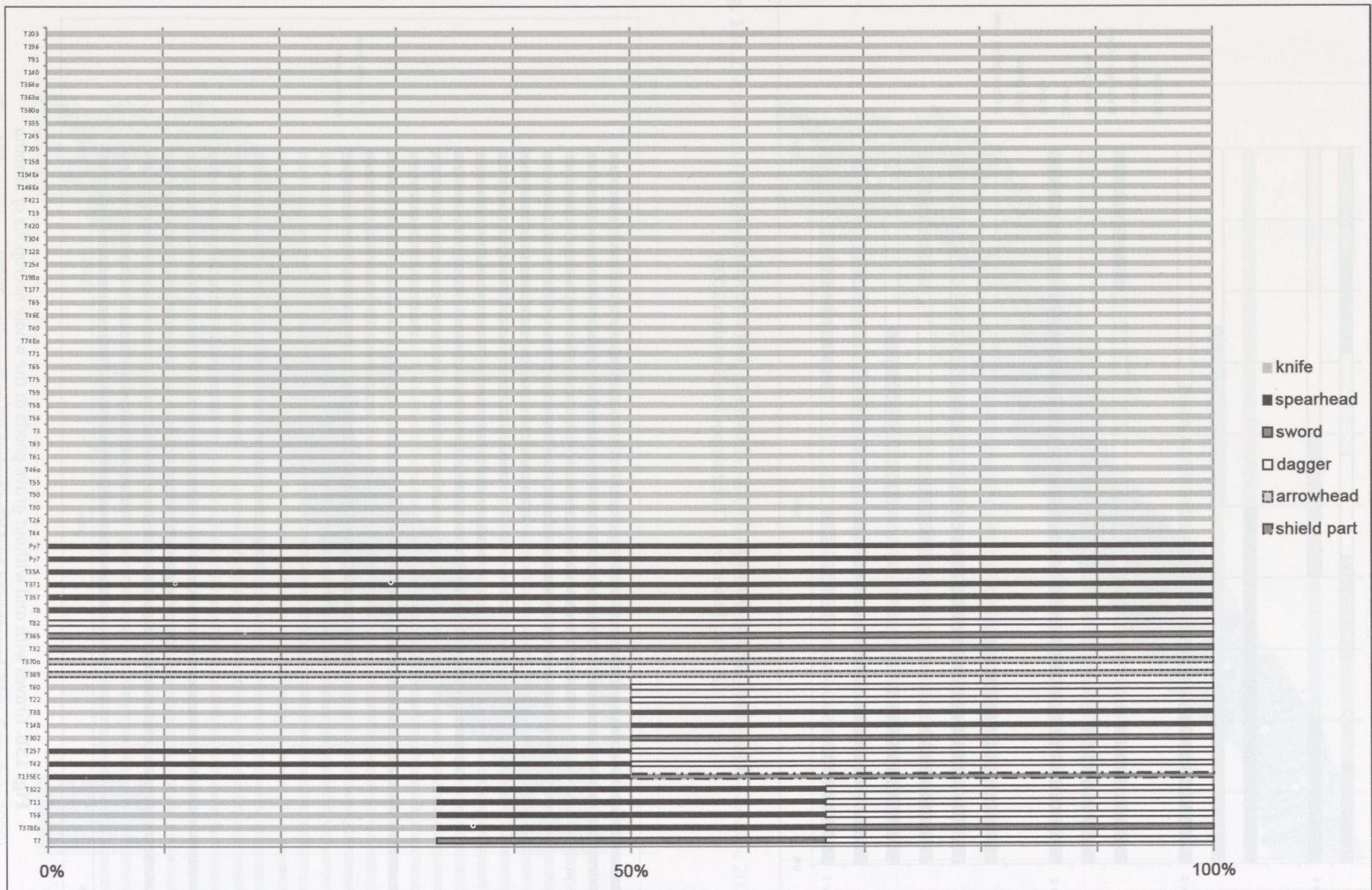


Fig. 14. Graves (T+ n) with weapons in the whole necropolis of Stamna (F. Lang based on J. Christakopoulou-Somakou 2009).